

# The North Carolina Standard.

THOMAS LORING,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATES—THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."

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THOS. G. SCOTT, P. M.  
Jan. 29. 273-31.

## REMARKS OF MR. BYNUM, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In the House of Representatives Dec. 24, 1839—

On the resolution of Mr. Dawson of Georgia, to suspend the order of the House to go into an election of Printer to the House of Representatives for the Twenty-sixth Congress.

Mr. Bynum said, if the House would go into an election of Printer at this time, he would forbear making any remarks. If not, he would go on and say what he was about to say. [Cries of "Go on."] Sir, said Mr. B. if the American people could have been assembled in this hall, and could have witnessed the proceedings of this House for the last three weeks, they, with the change of a single name, would have exclaimed, in the language of the Roman Orator, "*Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia? nostra quousque nos etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet?*" He said it had been twenty years since he read this, and he might have erred in the quotation, but it was applicable to the occasion. This was the language of Cicero, when speaking of the Catalinean conspiracy. If the American people had been present in our galleries since the commencement of our session, they might vary this quotation, and say, how long, O! Whig men, will you continue to abuse our patience? How long shall your madness outrave our justice, and continue to insult our understandings, and procrastinate this idle debate, at an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Government; at the sacrifice of every interest that is near and dear to us as American freemen. Why, sir, I would be willing to stake all I have in this world, ay, sir, I would be willing to stake my salvation, that there has been more money spent by the party which professes to desire a retrenchment in the expenses of the public printing, in idle, unnecessary debate, and in motions after motions to delay, procrastinate, and embarrass the business of this House this session, than the whole profits of the printing of Congress will be in the next five years. These debates have already cost the people of this country more than \$100,000, if not \$500,000. We are here in the fourth week of the session of the Twenty-sixth Congress, and there has not yet been the first step taken towards proceeding to the discharge of the high duties for which we are assembled. The House has as yet been but partially organized. We have not yet elected a Printer, and the standing committees have not yet been appointed; and, sir, whose fault is it that this has not been done? What party in this House has prevented the action and organization of the body? What is it that has been struggling day after day, to stave off the action of this House upon the matters which the majority desired to decide? And who is it that has introduced propositions time and again, which the House had previously decided, and called upon the House again to decide these questions? These questions will all be examined into by the people, and they will be able to point to the party which has occasioned all this delay and embarrassment to the business of the nation. Do gentlemen suppose that the people are to be duped and misled? Do they suppose that the freemen of this country are too ignorant to discover who it is that has piled motion upon motion in this House, in order and out of order, and consumed week after week in useless debate, when the business of the country was left untouched, and the public service suffering? Do gentlemen suppose that by their superior talents they can dupe and impose upon the people of this country—by their cry of retrenchment, while they are thus squandering the public money in worse than useless debate, and leaving the public business untouched? Does the gentleman from Ohio, the gentleman from the Chillicothe district, I mean Mr. Bond, suppose that the people of this country are so easily imposed upon? Sir, even the people of that unfortunate district cannot be imposed upon by that gentleman longer, for the Administration is fast gaining ground even there; and if the people of that district cannot be longer imposed upon, how can the gentleman expect to deceive the people at large? No gentleman of understanding can take a serious view of this whole transaction, and compare it with what has heretofore taken place, without pronouncing it one of the most farcial and ludicrous exhibitions ever attempted to be played off on the American people. I am not here permitted to speak of the motives of gentlemen, because it is not in order; but if it was, I might say that we would hear none of this cry of retrenchment, if the election of this officer was to benefit a certain press, owned by a monster Bank, which is owned, in a great degree, by foreign capitalists, and which has always been hostile to the interests and rights of the people of this country. The course of honorable gentlemen might be very different on this occasion, if we are to judge from what has transpired on a previous occasion of a similar nature. It has been again and again decided by the American people, that this British Bank was of the most deadly hostility to the rights and the liberties of the people of this country; and the people have elected a majority of Representatives to this House at every session for many years, who were opposed to this Bank, yet, for the last two years, that Bank has had the benefit of the public printing of this House, through its agents, Messrs. Giles and Seaton. In fact, strange as it may appear, the Bank of the United States was the Printer of this House for the last two years; and no man could deny this assertion, so far as its emoluments are concerned.

Sir, the people have been humbugged too much on this subject—to borrow a favorite expression from the Opposition—and it is time that they knew the whole truth in relation to this matter. When the election of a public Printer was about to take place two years ago, the United States Bank was not strong enough to obtain the vote without other aid, and a combination was entered into here to secure to it the benefit of this election. In the first place, a resolution was

submitted by a gentleman, whose name I will not mention, as my relations with that gentleman are of a delicate character, showing the combination on its face. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, That the Clerk of the House be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ the editors of the Intelligencer, and the editor of the Madisonian, equally, to execute the printing of the House upon the joint resolution of 1819, until the first Monday in December next."

This was a direct proposition, but it could not be carried, because some gentlemen were afraid they might be called to account by their constituents for voting for such a proposition; yet precisely the same proposition was carried by a secret agreement between these parties, as every body thought at the time. The Whigs and Conservatives, at that time, in consequence of this agreement, united upon one Thomas Allen, and he was elected, nominally, public Printer for that Congress. I stated to this House then, that it would require an outlay of some thirty or forty thousand dollars to prepare a printing establishment to do the printing of this House; and I stated further, that Mr. Allen, being a young man just commencing business, was unable to purchase an establishment to do this printing, and it was a ridiculous proposition to elect him principal Printer for the House. He, however, was elected, and the people were deceived. The people understood that a certain Thomas Allen was elected, and was to do the printing of Congress. Well, did he do it? No, sir; he never did the first page of printing for this House, virtually. It was all done by Messrs. Giles and Seaton, with an establishment notoriously belonging to the United States Bank. These gentlemen could not be elected, because certain gentlemen could not vote for them and represent the wishes of their constituents; yet by an agreement, or, as the old story is, by whipping the devil around the stump, they enjoyed the benefit of the printing of the last Congress, while the people were induced to believe that Mr. Allen alone enjoyed the benefits and profits arising from the printing of that Congress. Yes, sir, the whole history of that transaction is without a parallel in the proceedings of any legislative body in this nation, if not in the world.

A bargain, proposed, consummated, and executed here in this body, to effect the grossest imposition on the American people that had ever been attempted before to be perpetrated in this country; by which means the Bank of the United States was made virtually the Printer to the American Congress, with all its foreign affinities and hostilities to the free institutions of our country; and this, too, done by a party who have the boldness, I had like to have said effrontery, to stand up here now, and speak of corruption.

Are gentlemen so deluded as to think for a moment that these things are incomprehensible to the people, or that the great mass of the people have not mind enough to retain a just recollection of the history of these transactions? And is it to act over this disreputable transaction to elect the Bank of the United States printer of this Congress, that this most extraordinary course has been resorted to by the Opposition to embarrass and delay the indispensable business of this country.

I shall now read a few extracts from the journals of the proceedings of the House in relation to that election, for the benefit of the gentlemen from Ohio, and some other gentleman on this floor. If I understand the motion now before the House correctly, it is a motion of the honorable gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Dawson] to suspend the election of a public Printer at the present time, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry in relation to the prices of printing; and I intend to show what that gentleman's course was at the last session, when a similar motion was made. On the second day of the extra session of Congress, two years ago, "Mr. Patton of Virginia moved a resolution that the House proceed to the election of a public Printer for the Twenty-sixth Congress, which was agreed to. The House then proceeded to ballot, and after five or six ballots were taken, it was found that there was no election. The House then adjourned to the next day (Wednesday) when Mr. Bronson, a gentleman whose Democracy had never been doubted in this House, moved the following resolution:

"That the further balloting under the resolution of the preceding day should be suspended until the third Monday in December, and that the Clerk be directed to employ some person or persons to do the necessary printing of the House on the same terms it had been done at former sessions."

A motion was made by Mr. Grennell to lay Mr. Bronson's resolution on the table, and very fortunately the yeas and nays happen to be recorded on that subject; and how do they stand? Why, sir, we find recorded, in favor of laying this resolution on the table, [Mr. B. reading from the journal] the names of Messrs. Adams, Allen, Ayer, Bond, Hoffman, Mason of Ohio, Dawson, &c. It went through the whole Whig alphabet, from John Quincy Adams to Thomas James Yorke. Now, sir, (said Mr. B.) the resolution that I have just read, introduced by Mr. Bronson, a member from New York, was in substance identically such a resolution as is now proposed by the honorable member from Georgia, [Mr. Dawson] whose patriotism has been so inflated upon this occasion, and which has been advocated with so much warmth by his honorable friend from Ohio, [Mr. Bond] against which stands recorded the names, for all time to come, of these two most honorable and consistent gentlemen. But, sir, why should they alone be rebuked, when their names are accompanied with nine-tenths of their party.

Yes, sir, the resolution of Mr. Bronson, identically the same in substance as Mr. Dawson's, was voted down by a unanimous Whig vote; but Mr. Dawson's is now, by the same party, to be voted up, under similar, if not precisely the same, circumstances; displaying an inconsistency, the inevitable result of all parties that act without the least regard to principle. These things should not be. No party can or should long endure, that would thus attempt to practise on the credulity of mankind.

At that time, the Whig and Conservative parties in this House were thirsting for some of the spoils, as they now call it, and voted to get rid of every resolution or proposition to suspend the election of a public Printer for any period. Now, however, the times are changed, and gentlemen necessarily change their action with them.

If these gentlemen had the same prospect, by any combination, of electing their Printer, which they had at the last Congress, they would be the last men to postpone or thwart an election of public Printer; but now that there was a probability that another Printer would be elected, they used every means within their power to stave off the question by distracting and embarrassing the business of the House by every means that ingenuity could invent. But, sir, there was another favorite proposition of these gentlemen, submitted at the time Mr. Bronson's resolution was under consideration. Mr. Pickens at that time moved an amendment, "that the printing of the House be given out by contract," and on this proposition the names of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Adams], and of the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Hoffman], were recorded in the negative, and others, now of the Opposition.

[Mr. Hoffman explained that he had voted against the amendment because he believed that as he now believed, that the House could not give out their printing by contract until the resolution of 1819 was repealed.] Mr. Bynum. The gentleman's explanation is perfectly satisfactory; but how was it with regard to some ten or dozen of his friends who voted in the same way with Mr. John, C. Clark at their head? I admit that a majority of the Administration party voted with these gentlemen, and they did so because they believed it impracticable to enter into an investigation of so important a matter, while they were in the act of balloting for a Printer, and when the important business for which they had been called together was pressing upon them. This was a matter which required time and careful scrutiny, and the House was then unprepared to go into it, as it is now unprepared to do so. It was impossible for the House now, after it had spent a month of the session in idle, useless debate, to go into this matter and put off the important business of the country for another month; and if gentlemen are serious in regard to this matter, let them wait until the House is organized in the regular and usual way, and the elections gone through with, and then introduce this matter in the shape of a resolution or bill directed. It is a question which requires time for investigation and reflection. I myself am not now prepared to say how I should vote on this question when it is properly brought up. Several years ago, I voted for Mr. Pickens's resolution. I offered a similar one the other day, and I did it as a kind of peace offering. I would now, after the election is gone into, and carried out, after that resolution honestly and in good faith. As at present impressed, I think I should vote for a separation of the Government from the political press; but I have not examined the matter sufficiently in detail to enable me to speak positively on the subject. But I want a cool, deliberate, and honest investigation of the subject; and if it can be discovered, that good will result from a separation of the Government from the political press, I will go for it. But, sir, I do not desire to intermix trifling with serious matters, because, not having the talents of some gentlemen on this floor, I am unable effectually to mystify these questions before the public and the world; and if I was to attempt to do so, I should be exposed as I ought to be, to the indignant frowns of an honest people. Sir, my constituents are too honest and discerning to tolerate for a moment such an attempt.

I shall now say a few words in reply to the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Bond], with regard to the petition of Francis P. Blair. On that subject, too, if am I not egregiously mistaken, I think I shall be able to show the most reckless want of all regard for consistency. I will not say principle, but that honorable member and his consistency loving party. I will show that the latter part of the resolution, now proposed by the honorable member from Georgia, was then entertained, growing out of the petition of Mr. Blair, and a motion for a select committee, for a reference of the whole matter, was resisted almost unanimously by the self same party; and I think that the journals will show that these same gentlemen then resisted the reference of this identical proposition to a select committee of this House. He would read the resolution as it was finally referred:

"Resolved, That so much of the memorial of Francis P. Blair, as invites scrutiny of all his accounts for work executed for Congress and the public offices, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to inquire into the manner in which the public printing for Congress and the Executive Departments has been executed; whether the same has been done conformably to law, and whether any, and what, change can be made for the public good."

That subject came before this House, not in a questionable shape, as the gentleman from Ohio would have it, but in the shape of a petition; and the humblest American free citizen, he trusted, would ever have the right to petition this body for a redress of grievances, and to ask for such measures of legislation as would do them justice if they were wronged. And would the gentleman from Ohio spurn the right of petition on this floor, in the capital of this free Republic, and in defence of oneself for personal wrongs? But to the votes upon the presentation of this memorial of Mr. Blair. A motion was made by the gentleman from N. Carolina [Mr. McKay] to refer this memorial, together with a resolution to go into an examination of the whole matter of public printing, and although the yeas and nays were not called on that question, all gentlemen on this floor that were here then, knew that the Whigs voted against this reference. The question was afterwards taken by yeas and nays directly on the reference of this petition to a select committee: we find the Democratic members voting for the reference, and the Whig members against it. Yes, sir, we find recorded in the negative on this question, [Mr. B. here read from the journals] the names of "Messrs. ADAMS, ALLEN, BOND, DAWSON," &c. This was the course of these gentlemen at the last session, who are now so anxious for an examination into the subject of the printing of the House, and so desirous to have it given out by contract. Oh, consistency, "what a jewel!"

With regard to this matter of giving out the printing by contract, I beg gentlemen to recollect this one fact, that there are but two establishments in this city at present which could possibly do the printing of this House. It required, as he had been informed, an expenditure of some thirty or forty thousand dollars, to pre-

pare a printing establishment to do the printing of the House, and no establishment can do the printing for the House but one of the two extensive establishments in this city; either it must be done by Messrs. Blair and Rives or by Messrs. Giles and Seaton, and he hoped in God the Bank of the United States would not again have the benefit of the printing of this House. It was idle to talk in good faith of electing others at this time, whatever might be our feelings of friendship towards them.

If gentlemen were disposed to go into this investigation in good faith, after the House was organized, he was willing to go with them; but when he found them turning and twisting about as they had been, he was unwilling to trust them. Their course has been so refractory and impracticable, not to say factious, that I cannot now think of acting with them. Their efforts all seem to have been to resist the majority of the House, and set at naught the well established principle in this country that the majority shall rule. The principle that the majority shall rule is a well established principle in this country; and I warn gentlemen not to carry too far their violent resistance to this principle. Sir, if gentlemen carry out their resistance to this principle too far, they will find that the people will rise in their strength, and resist them. The people will not, and cannot much longer bear this resistance of the express will of the majority of the nation, as we have daily witnessed. But why this struggle for the existence of the United States Bank? Does the party with which it is identified depend upon this election of Printer of the House of Representatives to sustain their dying, sinking fortunes. No, no, gentlemen, this would avail you but little; your doom is fixed.

Sir, there is another matter which I desire to notice. An appeal has been made to a party in this House, called the Nullifiers. The Whigs are now under the necessity of appealing to that party, and their cry is, "help us, Cassius, or we sink." Sir, I make no appeal to any high minded and honorable men, as I know the members of this party of Nullifiers to be, for I know they will treat with scorn and contempt all such appeals to them. I know them to be a high minded and honorable set of men, and all these appeals are but insults to their understanding. I know the character of the constituents that they represent, and their feelings would revolt at the idea of giving countenance to such appeals; they know their duty, and will dare do it. The gentlemen from Ohio has said that the petition of Mr. Blair came into this House in a very questionable shape. In reply to this, I may say that this proposition of the Opposition has come into this House in a very questionable shape. Let us, sir, go into a history of this thing. What has been the history of this country for the last two years? Have we not heard it proclaimed in every quarter of this Union, that the party denominated the Whig party, have been anticipating a triumphant victory? Sir, have we not seen, that for several years that party had a triumphant majority in the Senate of the United States; yet during all that time they never brought forward any of those measures of retrenchment and reform in this department just now attacked by the party here. Sir, why did they not support these measures two years ago, when they were brought to the notice of this House? Why, they did not support them, because they all knew that, by a union of the Whigs and Conservatives, their party would have a majority in this House, and they could elect their favorite public Printer. If there was now the same chance of electing the U. States Bank, through its agents, Messrs. Giles and Seaton, Printer of this House, you would not hear, doubtless, the first whisper from them of retrenchment and reform in this department, if we are to judge from their conduct for the last two years. If there was a chance, by any combination that they could effect, to elect their candidates, all this loud vociferation would be hushed up, and you would hear no more from them of retrenchment in the expenditures with regard to the public printing. I judge, sir, from what has taken place here, before our eyes, within the last two years.

Sir, I call the attention of the American people to the condition of this Congress and to the proceedings which have taken place here during the present session. Let the people examine for themselves, and see who it is that has delayed the business of Congress by a thousand little motions to stave off the public business. Let the people examine, and see who it is that has made motion after motion for adjournment, and repeated motions that had been again and again decided, and kept the House until the fourth week of the session without being organized. Let them scrutinize the journals of the present session up to this time; let them see that nineteen-twentieths of such motions have been made by these economical, time-saving gentlemen.

My friend from Georgia [Mr. Dawson] had made this motion to postpone the election of a Printer, for the purpose of going into an investigation in regard to a retrenchment in the expenses of printing. My friend was a member of the last Congress, and was silent as the tomb upon this subject then. Now, I am not disposed to impeach his motives; but the world might say that he was silent last year because his friends were receiving the benefits of this printing, and he comes forward for retrenchment this year, because his friends were not likely to obtain it. I hope such are not the facts, but they will look so to all impartial men.

Sir, why do gentlemen endeavor thus to procrastinate debate, and stave off the business of the country? Have they not yet been sufficiently rebuked; and that, too, by their own friends, for such a wanton course? Have not honorable and high minded men of their own party become disgusted with their course, and declared on the floor that they would not act with them, if they endeavored longer thus to stave off questions? Did not the gentleman from Alabama, [Mr. CRAIG], and the gentleman from Georgia, [Mr. ALFORD], rise in their places and tell their party, that they would no longer act with them if they did not come to an election of a Speaker? Has not the gentleman from Georgia made a similar declaration at a subsequent period? And are gentlemen waiting for another rebuke of this kind, from their own friends, before they proceed to the election of a Printer? They have been told that they were not sent here to act as a faction, and, I believe, by one of their own par-

ty; and will they, in the face of the disgust of their own party, continue such a course?—The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bond] has referred to the character of the memorial again sent in by Mr. Blair; but he had very judiciously kept out of sight the most important item of that memorial. Messrs. Blair and Rives had paid every dollar of the money in which Mr. Blair was held as security for Mr. Crockett, the Kentucky postmaster, and the memorial prayed for an examination into the matter, with a view of adjusting it. The memorialist did not ask that the money which had been paid should be paid back by the Government to him; but as there were certain funds coming to this postmaster from the Government, in the shape of a pension, the memorialist desired that this money should be retained, as an offset to the money which he had paid, if it could be done consistently with law.

[Here, Mr. Bond rose to explain.] If gentlemen were disposed to debate this proposition, and would fix a day for proceeding to the business of the country, we would meet them in an argument of the question. But I hope they will agree to let us proceed with the business of the country as speedily as possible. Let the House come, I entreat it, to a vote on this question, and let somebody be elected Printer of the House. If the United States Bank was the strongest candidate, let it be elected; if not, let it be given to Messrs. Blair and Rives; but I hope the country will never be duped, as it was duped at the last election, by the election of a man who never did and never could do the public printing. In every part of the country, sir, we learn that the public business is suffering for the want of the action of this House.

Sir, gentlemen, in my humble apprehension, mistake themselves, if they think they can effect any thing more, by keeping up this game of confusion, disorder, and procrastination, than a most unprofitable consumption of the time of this House, and an enormous waste of the treasures of the people. If there is any doubting character in this House that the party is after, I should like to know him; better that he were not here. I hope there is none such in the party to which I have the honor to belong, and I know of none in the other. No, sir, there are none amongst them; they keep their party too well drilled for that. Or can it be with a hope of some new combinations being formed, that this election is thus fought off with such pertinacity? It is time, sir, that every eye in this nation should be called to the proceedings of this House, that have transpired within the last four weeks, to judge how far they have been disreputable to the character of our Government, and how far they have been calculated to impair the confidence of mankind in the excellency of the free form of our Republican institutions. Sir, no intelligent patriot can contemplate such scenes, without alarming apprehensions for the downward course of this glorious and mighty Republic.

Gentlemen, in this hurricane of excitement, cannot be aware of what they are and have been doing, in their continued efforts on this floor to resist the sovereign will of this great people, as expressed through their Representatives here. I implore gentlemen to reflect, that when we refuse obedience to the sovereign will of a majority of the freemen of this country, the next step to be taken, is to decide our controversies by the strength and supremacy of arms, to which their course here is continually inviting us. Are they prepared for this, in this early state of the Republic? Have they lost, so early in the history of our country, all confidence in the decisions of a majority of our people, or does their thirst for power blind them to the train of calamities that would await us? Are they willing to return, or to force others to fly to that arbiter of violence and arms, to adjust a mere difference of opinion in relation to political principles, a thing that the wisdom of our fathers was so studious to avoid, on any and every occasion? Do honorable gentlemen here believe for a moment that the free people of this country are so benighted as to tolerate such a course, or that they have art and talents enough to conceal their conduct on these subjects here, from them on their return amongst them? Will there not be these amongst them, the people, who will point to the journals of this Congress for the last four weeks, to show the number of motions to adjourn made by one party of this House, besides others of equal, if not of a more, frivolous nature? And are they ignorant how a just, not a factious, people will appreciate such conduct? Sir, I would say to them, in this wild, maddened career, it is time, if they have not given up all future hopes, to pause in the future prosecution of this reckless course, and respect more the just understanding of their countrymen.

As often as they have deceived themselves in undervaluing the intelligence of the people, it does seem that the lessons taught them within a few years and months since, should induce them to heed a language that has been so often spoken to them by whole States of this Union; or is it that voice, in the day of their political mania, that they are mostly disposed to treat with disdain and contempt? Sir, I would invoke gentlemen once more to discard these idle dreams of embarrassing the business of the country here for political effect abroad, and let us go to work and discharge the duties we owe as Representatives—that that owe to our constituents, ourselves, and the country; every department of the Government requires it—the necessities, of the nation demand it.

In a very severe winter, in which wood began to be scarce in Boston, Governor Winthrop received private information that a neighbor was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. "Does he?" said the Governor, "call him to me and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing." The man appeared, and the Governor addressed him thus: "Friend, it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood: you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till winter is over." And then merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing?

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